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ABSTRACT

Toronto (Ontario, Canada) and Los Angeles (California) are two cities that provide television programs for specific ethnic groups. During a sample week, 13 percent of the total broadcast time of stations serving Greater Toronto was devoted to programs for ethnic groups. In another sample week, minority ethnic broadcasts took up 17 percent of the total broadcast time of stations serving the Los Angeles metropolitan area. The context within which ethnic television has developed in these two cities has affected its nature and purposes. Geography, history, economic factors, public policy, and the sociocultural context have determined the number of types of populations that ethnic television can reach and the number and types of programs that the stations can provide. Toronto and Los Angeles television personnel see ethnic television as a means for affecting social impact on ethnic communities by lowering cultural barriers, promoting multiculturalism, enhancing community solidarity, and maintaining cultural identity. Current developments indicate that some ethnic programs are being discontinued in favor of programs for larger ethnic group audiences or for subscription television, or for financial reasons. At the same time, future plans indicate expanded opportunities for ethnic television, a prospect which has implications for television's role in promoting cultural awareness and understanding. (MJL)

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Minority ethnic television in Toronto and Los Angeles:

Two North American approaches to multiculturalism

A paper presented at the 25th annual conference of the Comparative and International Education Society in Tallahassee, Florida on March 18 - 21, 1981 and submitted for consideration for publication in the Canadian and International Education journal

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Our perceptions of education, minority ethnic groups, and television have gone through several changes in the last decade. We have begun to rethink our reliance on formal education -- the public schools, academia, and other educational institutions -- as more and more people chose to enter into their studies at different stages of their lives and as alternative, extension universities, educational innovations making use of television, computers, and other media, new societal definitions of what it is to be educated, and changes in financial attitudes towards institutions influence ever-changing educational processes (Illich, 1971; Cremin, 1976; Faure et. al., 1972). As a society, we have also shifted in our attitudes towards minority ethnic groups; we have gone from integrationist to isolationist, from emphasis on group solidarity to individual achievement, from political action to apathy (Schermerhorn, 1970; Glazer and Moynihan, 1975; Ogbu, 1978). Ethnicity in the early eighties seems to be defined as a characteristic of another special interest group that governments are beginning to declare they will no longer consider in the face or the common good. The technology of television is also rapidly changing with the advent of video-cassettes and video-discs, cable television networks, telecommunications satellites, low-power mini-stations, and VHF drop-ins. Some look at these changes and proclaim a "video revolution" (Youngblood, 1977); most recognize that television has had an immeasurable effect on our lives (Comstock et. al., 1978; Stoloff, 1980).

In the wake of these changes in technology, attitudes, and populations, entrepreneurs, concerned citizens, leaders of minority ethnic groups, broadcasters, and educators have joined together to

produce and present television programming for specifically targeted audiences. Two cases in point -- how minority ethnic television is produced, broadcast, and regulated in two North American cities, Toronto and Los Angeles -- may illustrate how these sea-changes within different societal contexts have resulted in differing manifestations of television for specific groups in their communities. These case histories may also tell us a bit about these two different cities and how they function and have changed in the areas of education, ethnicity, and television broadcasting during the 1970s. This article will also explore and extrapolate on the potential effects of minority ethnic television on the nature of the communities in which it is broadcast.

Minority ethnic television: A definition with examples

Minority ethnic television is programming specifically designed and broadcast for a group that shares a common language or culture. In Toronto, this form of programming is identified as multilingual or third language television in recognition of the importance of "lingualism" in the Canadian context. In Los Angeles, programming is usually identified with the name of the group for which it is targeted -- i.e., Spanish (or Hispanic) TV, Japanese TV, Armenian Time; the issue in Los Angeles is focused more on ethnicity than language group. I have chosen the general term "minority ethnic television" to stress that this form of programming is first "ethnic" and then "minority". Ethnicity tends to cross national boundaries, while minority status depends on the particular circumstances of a community; for example, English-speakers are often minorities in the immigrant communities of Los Angeles and Toronto, but in the broad context of these cities, they

would not be considered members of a linguistic minority.

Several nations broadcast programming for minority ethnic groups on a limited basis. In several European nations, radio broadcasting for minority ethnic groups who are migrants is a current practice. West Germany's national radio service devotes 48% of its broadcast time to radio programmes for migrants, Sweden's offers 17%, France and Belgium's 9%, Switzerland's 8%, and the services of Austria, Britain, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands offer between .3% and 4% of their broadcast time (Anwar, 1978). In a survey of 200 countries, UNESCO (1975) reports that Israel uses 16% of its television time for broadcasts for ethnic minorities, Lebanon 6%, Dijouti, Uruguay, and Roumania 5%, Brazil, Pakistan, Denmark, Italy, and Tunisia 2%, and Argentina and Algeria 1%.

Brown (1980) notes that the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), through its Asian Programmes Unit, has produced and presented two one-half hour programmes in Hindi, Urdu, and English since 1965. These programs provide information and debate on Asian community affairs and on health, education, and law in Britain. The London Weekend TV additionally produces a program on the Black community, while a BBC2's Black soap-opera has been recently cancelled. Robb (1979) reports that three regional centers of the Radiotelevision Espanola (RTVE) in Spain broadcast wholly or partially in local dialects. Radiotelivisone Italiana broadcasts 1.5 hours of television daily for the German-speaking minorities in Alto Adige (UNESCO, 1978).

During a sample week, June 21 to June 28, 1980, 237.5 hours of broadcast time in Toronto could be categorized as minority ethnic television. Representing over 30 ethno-cultural groups, these programs were primarily broadcast on 4 UHF (ultra-high frequency)

stations in Toronto -- TV-Ontario, channel 19, an educational television station funded by the Provincial Government of Ontario; CBLFT, channel 25, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's French-language station in Toronto; CFMT, channel 47, a privately owned station run by Multilingual Television (Toronto) Ltd.; and CITY, channel 79, a private, independent station. These 237.5 hours of minority ethnic television represents 13% of the total amount of television time broadcast by 13 stations serving the Greater Toronto area and 23% of the total broadcast time of the seven Canadian stations broadcasting from Toronto.

In Los Angeles, minority ethnic television broadcasts totaled 333.5 hours during a sample week, February 22 to 28, 1981. This programming for ten ethno-cultural groups represents 17% of the total broadcasting time of the 16 television stations serving the Los Angeles metropolitan area. Los Angeles' minority ethnic television is also broadcast from 4 UHF stations -- KSCI, channel 18, owned by Global Television and the first Age of Enlightenment television station following the philosophy of the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi and Transcendental Meditation; KWHY, channel 22, owned by Coast Broadcasting Corporation and the first station to offer subscription television in the United States; KMEX, channel 34, an owned and operated station in the Spanish International Network; and KBSC, channel 52, owned by Oak Broadcasting who also own a subscription television system in Los Angeles.

Table 1 breaks down minority ethnic programming in these two cities by ethnocultural group and compares the amount of

Table 1
The amount of minority ethnic television for specific groups in Toronto and Los Angeles during a sample week with estimates of these groups' population

TORONTO			LOS ANGELES		
ethno-cultural group	number of hours of broadcast time during sample week (1)	estimate of group's population (in thousands) (2)	ethno-cultural group	number of hours of broadcast time during sample week (3)	estimate of group's population (in thousands)
Arabic	2	13	Samoan	0	45 (4)
Asian	4.5	81	Sri-Lankan	0	15 (4)
Bulgarian	1	6	Tongan	0	3 (4)
CHINESE	3	58	CHINESE	7	100 (4)
Czecho-Slovakian	1	42	Taiwanese	0	20 (4)
Dutch	2	148	Vietnamese	0	60 (4)
ESKIMO/NATIVE PEOPLE	1	26	Lao	0	7 (4)
French	149.5	180	AMERICAN INDIAN	0	25 (7)
GERMAN	3	309	Hawaiian	0	6 (4)
Greek	4	84	GERMAN	1	***
Hungarian	1	60	Guamanian	0	13 (4)
Italian	22.5	453	Kampuchean	0	6 (4)
JAPANESE	1	19	JAPANESE	16.5	190 (4)
JEWISH	2.5	130	JEWISH	4.5	478 (6)
Polish	2	115			
Portuguese	5.5	108			
RUSSIAN	0	11	RUSSIAN	0	***
Scandinavian	1	41			
SPANISH	4	64	HISPANICS	287	1795 (5)
Ukrainian	1.5	113			
West Indian	.5	103			
Yugoslavian	2	90			
OTHER ETHNIC		167	OTHER ETHNIC		3724
ARMENIAN	1	***	ARMENIAN	1	***
BLACK	2	***	BLACK	.5	1025 (5)
East Indian	2.5	***			
English	1	***			
FILIPINO	2	***	PILIPINO	2.5	110 (4)
KOREAN	3	***	KOREAN	16.0	80 (4)
Macedonian	2	***			
unspecified programmes	5		Thai	.5	17 (4)
totals	232.0	2,421		333.5	7296 (5)

(1) Star Week, Toronto Star, June 21-28, 1980
(2) MTV, 1980
(3) Television Times, L.A. Times, Feb. 21-28, 1981
(4) Nakano, 1981
(5) Roof, 1976
(6) World Almanac, 1981
(7) L.A. County Commission on Human Relations, 1974

programming during the sample weeks with an estimate of the group's population in the broadcast region. These population estimates are very tentative, especially for Los Angeles, considering that they are from various sources. They should be used for comparative purposes only. Groups not included in either of the lists may exist in the cities but are not formally represented on television and their population estimates were not available at the time of this writing. Groups in all capital letters are common to both cities.

The following sections will compare how the contexts of these two cities have affected this growth of minority ethnic television and will suggest its purposes and future in North American society.

Comparative contexts of two North American cities

Spolsky (1977) suggests that the economic, political, social, linguistic, cultural-religious, and psychological contexts of a situation affect the establishment of a language educational policy in multilingual societies. Stoloff (1980) applies these contexts to analyze language policy in Quebec. Other factors of importance in understanding a community's development may involve its geography and history.

Geography Both Toronto and Los Angeles are primarily located on coastal plains; this situation affects the nature of broadcasting in a region. Broadcasts from the top of the Canadian National tower on the lakefront in Toronto can reach the 4.5 million people who live within a radius of a hundred miles from this antenna (MTV, 1980). The most powerful UHF station in Los Angeles claims to be able to reach 3.4 million homes through over the air broadcasts

and cable systems (KWHY-press release, 1980). Geography has also played a role by helping both cities to develop into major transportation, communications, and regional centers and to attract large immigrant populations.

History Both Toronto and Los Angeles followed parallel historical developments. Both were small towns on the periphery of colonial regions into the 19th century. The town of York was founded in 1793 on the site of a French fort and became the capital of the British Colony of Upper Canada. El Pueblo de Nuestra Senora la Reina de los Angeles de Porciuncula was formally founded in 1781. Toronto, an Indian word meaning "the meeting place", was incorporated as a city in 1834, while Los Angeles was incorporated in 1850. Both cities developed gradually into the 20th century with massive transformations occurring following the second world war. Toronto is currently the largest city in Canada and the 15th largest in North America with a city population of over a half a million and a metropolitan population of 2.8 million inhabitants. Los Angeles County is the third largest urban area in North America with 7.1 million inhabitants and a city population of 2.8 (World Almanac, 1981). Both cities, unlike many cities on the continent, are continuing to grow, attract major industries, the arts, and the young, and to become cities with a central core surrounded by satellite towns.

Economics and politics Geography and history have also affected the economics and politics of minority ethnic broadcasting in Toronto and Los Angeles. The Canadian government, due to the proximity to the US border and the media that easily transcends the

boundary, mandates through its official communications licensing agency, the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), that Canadian television stations have no more than 20 per cent foreign ownership, that the programming of the quasi-governmental Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) be 60 per cent Canadian in general content and in the evening hours, and that private television networks have 60 per cent Canadian content and not less than 50 per cent during the evening (Robb, 1979). The Toronto Star lists 13 television stations that serve the Toronto area. Of these stations, one is the French language station of the CBC, another is the English language CBC station, two are the flagship stations for 2 Canadian private networks -- Global and Canadian Television (CTV), two are local Toronto independent stations, one is an independent station broadcasting from the neighboring Ontarian city of Hamilton, one is a provincial educational station, and five are from Buffalo, New York, including three network affiliates, a local Public Broadcasting System (PBS) station, and an independent. Of these thirteen stations, 7 are VHF and 6 are UHF. The difference in broadcasting quality between UHF and VHF stations is not as important a factor in Toronto as it would be in other cities for 1.6 million homes subscribe to a cable television system (MTV, 1980).

Broadcasting in the United States is currently being studied for potential changes in the Communications Act of 1934 that has governed radio, television, and other forms of telecommunications through the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) for nearly half a century. The FCC's major enforcement power lies in its power to grant and renew broadcasting licenses. Licenses are limited for

a term of no more than three years. As in Canada, no more than 20 per cent of the capital stock of a station can be owned by a foreign individual or corporation. Unlike the CRTC, though, the FCC does not formally proscribe specific limits on programming. The FCC does expect the station seeking renewal to have a history of surveying community leaders for programming topics on local needs and problems, airing program material within certain broad percentages (i.e. 5 per cent news, 5 per cent public affairs, and 90 per cent entertainment), and staying within limits on the amount of commercial time within a hour (Robb, 1979). The Los Angeles Times lists 18 stations in the Los Angeles area, including three network owned and operated stations, two PBS stations, and eleven independent stations. Seven of these stations broadcast on VHF and nine are on UHF.

The Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) has played a more activist role towards minority ethnic broadcasting than its US counterpart, the Federal Communications Commission. On March 28, 1977, the CRTC published a public notice calling for applications for a multilingual television station to serve the Toronto area. One applicant noted that "the celebration of cultural diversity has taken root as a prevailing aspiration of the Canadian community and of governmental policy at the federal, provincial and municipal level. As television has become the dominant means of cultural expression, multilingual media in Canada has been increasingly recommended for serious consideration" (Marchant et. al., 1978).

The FCC does not play as active role in setting policy towards

minority ethnic broadcasting. In a review of legal cases involving minority ethnic broadcasting for KWHY in Los Angeles, Russell (1974) notes that there is no distinction made by the commission between the supervision of programming presented in the English language as compared with programming in a foreign language. Foreign language broadcasting has been an issue in the United States when competing radio stations have applied to renew their service and when conflicts have arisen between time brokers and stations over procedures. Time brokerage for foreign language broadcasts, where the station sells broadcast time to a corporation that is responsible for packaging a program and finding advertisers, is a risky procedure for both the station license-holders and the corporation. The FCC's policy is to consider the individual licensee to be in a far better position to set the broadcasting procedures and amounts of foreign language programs in their community and hold the licensee responsible for monitoring the broadcasts and determining if violations in the FCC code have occurred. The time brokers, those members of special interest groups that buy the station's time, are responsible to the licensee for any misuse of time on the station. The FCC allows the local stations to control foreign language programming within limited standards (such as the avoidance of excessive commercial matter, lotteries, and personal attacks) that apply to all television broadcasting in the United States.

In the first months of 1981, the FCC notified broadcasters that they wish to encourage increased time brokerage to minority ethnic television on both UHF and VHF stations. This was interpreted

as a change in governmental policy to encourage cultural programming produced by minority ethnic groups on all stations in a community (National Association of Broadcasters, 1981).

Social, linguistic, and cultural contexts Wolfgang (1975) notes that "multiculturalism in Canadian rests, however uneasily, on the dual nature of Canadian institutions, which are, by history and by law, both English and French." Canadians, he suggests, would therefore be "less likely to accept officially an assimilationist attitude to other ethnic groups than a mono-cultural nation like the United States or Australia." From this form of argument often arises the notions of the "Canadian mosaic" vs. the "US melting pot" views of assimilation and acculturation. The presence of minority ethnic television may support this notion for the Torontonian mosaic but may trouble the Angeleno melting pot.

Since the second world war, immigration to Canadian has contributed about 40% of the net increase in population. The Canadian Department of Manpower and Immigration statistics suggests that over 60% of the migrants chose Ontario as their destination, with the majority settling in the Metropolitan Toronto area. Ramcharan (1975) notes that about half the house-hold heads in Toronto were born outside of Canada and that of these heads of households, approximately 60% come from countries where English was not the mother tongue. A survey for Multilingual Television (Toronto) Ltd. notes that the ethnocultural population of Toronto is approximately 2 million, comprising 28 groupings, 12 of which have populations greater than fifty thousand. Of this population, 41.8% list a third language, other than French and English, as

the "language most often spoken at home" (MTV, 1980). Other evidence of the Torontonian mosaic is that it maintains 42 foreign language newspapers (World Almanac, 1981).

Los Angeles was initially a regional capital of Alta California and became a US city with an English-language presence only 130 years ago. The Mexican-Spanish influecne has continually been evidenced in the architecture of the city, place and street names, and several of the city's traditions. Like Toronto, Los Angeles was transformed by waves of immigration following World War II, primarily form other parts of the US, Mexico and other Latin American nations, and from Asian and other Pacific nations. Nakano (1981) estimates that there are at least a half a million Asians from twenty-six ethnocultural groups currently living in Los Angeles. Estimates of the Hispanic population in the broadcast region range as high as 3.5 milliion, making this audience the seventh largest television market in the United States (KSCI-channel 18 news release, 1980). Estimates are that there are more than a half a million Jews in Los Angeles (World Almanac, 1981) and substantial populations of Armenians, Italians, German, English, Irish, Russians and several other ethnocultural groups. Los Angeles maintains over 45 newspapers in English and foreign languages, of which 25 are published daily (World Almanac, 1981). The presence of minority ethnic television, distinct ethnic communities through the city and the county, and these population statistics suggest that Los Argeles may also be a mosaic, not a melting pot, for ethno-cultural groups.

In reviewing Table 1, the reader might note that population

size of an ethno-cultural group does not necessarily correlate with the amount of broadcasting time given a particular group. Historical reasons, such as the Italian community's long-standing use of the media for intra-group communications in Toronto, political reasons, such as the presence of a French Canadian Broadcasting Corporation station in Toronto, or economic reasons, such as the recent doubling of Spanish language television in recognition of the size of the potential market in Los Angeles, influence the amount of programming for a group. Why individuals chose to be involved with the production and broadcasting of minority ethnic television may also play a role in influencing programming.

Psychological context and purposes In conversation with broadcasters and producers in both Toronto and Los Angeles, the purposes of minority ethnic television tended ot cluster in four general areas -- economic, political, emotional, and philosophical motivations (Stoloff, 1981).

In many of the news releases from the stations, the size of the ethnic communities and their buying power are emphasized. One of the Station Managers in Los Angeles, Mr. Robert Bunn of KWHY-channel 22, believes that his station was turned around from an economic decline when he became the first broadcaster in Los Angeles to work with programming associates from the minority ethnic communities and broadcast prime-time Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Spanish programmes (Barber, 1974). At about the same time in Toronto, a broadcaster with a long tradition of ethnic radio programming from his owned and operated FM station moved into minority ethnic television to expand the potential audience of his programmes. Broadcasting on Sundays

from 10 in the morning to 2 in the afternoon by first buying time on an out-of-town station in Barrie, Ontario, and later on Global TV - channel 6, Mr. Johnny Lombardi's television programming could potentially reach 70% of Southern Ontario and the half a million Italians that make up the largest ethnic market in metropolitan Toronto. Mr. Lenny Lombardi, a second generation broadcaster, suggests that with the increasing technical expertise of minority ethnic programmers eventually Toronto may be able to export television in foreign languages to Europe.

KMEX-channel 34, the second owned and operated station of the Spanish International Network, a network currently of sixty-two affiliates in 13 states on the US-Mexican border, is viewed by its General Manager, Mr. Daniel Dario Villaneuva as "the voice of the Spanish-speaking populace of the Los Angeles area, but a voice of moderation". He feels that KMEX has a strong relationship with the community and often serves a leadership role on political issues (Villaneuva, 1975). To promote community solidarity and to play such a leadership role, several Chinese language programmers in Los Angeles design news broadcasts in both Mandarin and Cantonese. Countering the claims that minority ethnic television may promote political ghettoism, Mr. Lenny Lombardi notes that in the five years of such programming in Toronto, many of the cultural barriers between groups have begun to fall and multiculturalism has been promoted instead.

Emotionally, several broadcasters look to minority ethnic television as "a way of keeping in touch with the foreign lands of one's origins, their films, sports, performers, people and

politics" (MTV, 1980). Ms. Sandra Gibson, KMEX's Public Service Officer, notes that the station served as an information and support center for immigrants during crises such as the Guatemalan earthquake and the Cuban sea-lift, as a fund-raising center for community projects such as the yearly collection of Christmas gifts and dinners for poor families in the barrios, and as a center for a weekend census-taking campaign.

That television can be used to help maintain the cultural identity of children and slow the loss of cultural values and customs is the philosophical motivation of one Korean programmer in Los Angeles. Dr. Barry Charles, a member of the board of directors at KSCI in Los Angeles, uses a medical metaphor that rejects the melting pot notion of cultural assimilation. Dr. Charles suggests that the health of the entire urban community depends upon the health of each of its organs, the minority ethnic communities. Through careful selection of programming that avoids excessive violence or sexual behavior, KSCI sees television as an important medium for creating an ideal society (Stoloff, 1981).

Few of the broadcasters and programmers interviewed felt that minority ethnic television primarily serves an educational function. Many recognize that is does serve an informational function with public affairs and news programming. In Los Angeles, though, less than 15% of the Spanish-language broadcast time is devoted to public affairs and news programming and only 1% of the time is assigned to children's programming. Dr. Fred Rainsberry, a professor at The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, also serves as a consultant to MTV-channel 47 in Toronto and as a producer

of children's programming. Dr. Rainsberry notes that CFMT (MTV) does produce some educational programmes for school-age youngsters and adults but they are done on modest budgets for the station is just starting and financial considerations are of primary importance. He relates that Mr. Dan Iannuzi, the President of Multilingual Television (Toronto) Limited and of the station, is so concerned about the success of the station that he serves as Executive Producer to all programming. For many of these stations, whose future depends so closely on the economics of special audiences, educational programming targeted for even smaller subsets of the community may be difficult to fund in these early stages of their development.

The future of minority ethnic television in Toronto and Los Angeles

Smith (1979) states that "broadcasting has become the essential means for asserting, reinforcing, the perimeter values of society, be they political, moral, economic." If this is true, then minority ethnic groups and individuals who are concerned about multiculturalism have best look to the futures of minority ethnic television in Toronto, Los Angeles, and other cities. Currently in Los Angeles, many of the non-Spanish language programming are beginning to be squeezed out of the limited broadcasting schedules by either increases in time for Spanish language programmes or for subscription television. Just in the first two weeks of March 1981, the one-half hour of Thai programming and two and a half hours of Jewish programming lost their time slots to Spanish language programmes. The amount of Asian language programmes are gradually being reduced as broadcasters find subscription television more profitable. In Toronto, news programming for minority ethnic groups was reduced at one station

by five hours a week in July of 1980 because of financial concerns. In neither city has minority ethnic television yet established firm enough audiences for independent rating services to calcualte the number of its viewers.

The future is not that dim, though, for minority ethnic television in Toronto or Los Angeles. Multilingual Television Limited hopes to expand into other Canadian markets using the ANIK communications satellite and cable television systems and into the United States through cable companies in Western New York state. KSCI in Los Angeles hopes to syndicate its Age of Enlightenment News and some Spanish programming to other markets throughout the United States. Several Asian programmers are vying for a UHF station in one of the ethnic communities surrounding Los Angeles. Added to these developments are recent FCC rulings to license low-power television stations and encourage their ownership by minority ethnic groups. These mini-stations could serve urban communities within a broadcast circle with a radius of 15 km. The FCC also is encouraging more time brokerage -- the buying of braodcast time by special interest groups. The spread of cable systems, the planned addition of more VHF and UHF stations, and the increase of satellite to home broadcasting may also affect the cultural diversity of television in the future.

Cultural integration, according to Roy Jenkins, is "not a flattening process of assimilation but ... of equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance" (Anwar, 1978). Minority ethnic television in Toronto and Los Angeles is in its early history. For those interested in Comparative and International Education, such programming offers

opportunities to study how different cultures make use of a communicative and educative medium to make sense of daily events and to help their communities learn about changes in their environment. For those interested in intercultural relations, the interactions of groups as they compete for audiences and broadcast time may supply insight into other societal dynamics. For all members of society, it is hoped that the future progress of minority ethnic television represents a beginning of increased tolerance of cultural differences and ever-increasing understanding among people not only in Toronto or Los Angeles, but within other cities, nations, and throughout the world.

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